

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 AF-06 OPIC-03 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-02

ACDA-05 EURE-00 STR-04 /099 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5593

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LISBON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 00544

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: GW SP ELAB PINT PFOR MARR

SUBJECT: VISIT OF SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO FRG

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BEGIN SUMMARY. AN OPTIMISTIC SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER, AREILZA, TOLD HIS WEST GERMAN HOSTS LAST WEEK THAT HE HOPED THAT SPAIN WILL SOON BE ABLE TO ABOLISH ITS ANTI-TERRORISM LAW AND REFORM THE PENAL CODE. HE ANTICIPATED A CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM THIS SUMMER, LOCAL ELECTION IN THE FALL, AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1977. HE INDICATED THAT SPAIN'S GOALS IN FOREIGN POLICY ARE MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC, NATO AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, IN THAT ORDER, AND THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE US ON SPANISH BASES WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF JANUARY. HE ENCOURAGED FURTHER CONTACTS BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE FRG AS A MEANS OF HELPING SPAIN ACHIEVE ITS POLITICAL GOALS BOTH INTERNALLY AND ABROAD.

THE GERMANS INDICATED THAT THEY HOPED TO SEE SPAIN JOIN THE EC AND NATO AND SUGGESTED THE RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE EC AS A PRELUDE TO SPANISH APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC. THE GERMANS PLAN ADDITIONAL HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS WITH THE SPANISH IN THE NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. FOREIGN OFFICE MINISTERIAL DIRECTOR DR. RUHFUS GAVE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO THE EMBASSY POLITICAL COUNSELOR REGARDING THE VISIT OF SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER AREILZA TO THE FRG, JANUARY 8-9:

2. IN 1970 THE SPANISH AND WEST GERMANS HAD BEGUN A SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS. GENSCHER SAW AREILZA DURING HIS VISIT TO SPAIN IN MARCH AND LATER IN PARIS. AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT, GENSCHER INVITED AREILZA TO VISIT THE FRG. RUHFUS THOUGHT THAT AREILZA'S VISIT, HIS FIRST OFFICIAL TRIP OUTSIDE SPAIN SINCE TAKING OFFICE, HAD GONE WELL, PARTIALLY BECAUSE HE HAD CULTIVATED THE WEST GERMAN PRESS BEFORE HE LEFT SPAIN.

3. AREILZA DEVOTED A LARGE AMOUNT OF TIME TO DISCUSSING HIS HOPES FOR SPAIN'S DEMOCRATIZATION. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT WOULD TRY TO AVOID FURTHER EXECUTIONS. THE ANTI-TERROR LAW, WHICH IS OBJECTIONABLE ON PROCEDURAL
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GROUND, WOULD BE ABOLISHED. BUT SUBSTANTIALLY IT IS SIMILAR TO THE SPANISH PENAL CODE. THEREFORE, THE SPANISH PENAL CODE MUST BE REFORMED. AREILZA ANTICIPATED A CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM THIS SUMMER, LOCAL ELECTIONS NEXT FALL AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1977, IF ALL GOES WELL.

4. AREILZA DID NOT DISCUSS THE STRUCTURE OF THE FUTURE

SPANISH GOVERNMENT OR THE ROLE OF THE KING, BUT THE FRG EMBASSY IN MADRID HAS REPORTED THAT SPAIN WOULD HAVE A TWO-CHAMBER PARLIAMENT WITH ONE DEPUTY PER 100,000 POPULATION.

5. IMMEDIATE GOALS, AREILZA INDICATED, INCLUDE AVOIDING RIOTS AND REVIVING THE POLITICAL PARTIES, WHICH -- WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE COMMUNISTS -- ARE POORLY ORGANIZED. THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL BE BANNED.

6. ANALYZING THE SPANISH ELECTORATE, AREILZA THOUGHT THAT THE EXTREME RIGHT WOULD WIN 20 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, THE MODERATE RIGHT 50-60 PERCENT, THE MODERATE LEFT 15-20 PERCENT AND THE COMMUNISTS 5-10 PERCENT. OVER TIME THE MAJORITY WOULD SWING TO THE MODERATE LEFT,

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5594

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LISBON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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AREILZA THOUGHT (LEADING DR. RUHFUS TO OPINE THAT THE
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EXISTENCE OF A STRONG RIGHT WING COULD BE A PROBLEM
DURING THE TRANSITION). AREILZA SAID HE WAS AWARE OF
THE DIFFICULTIES, BUT HE FELT THEY COULD BE OVERCOME.

7. TURNING TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AREILZA EMPHASIZED
THAT SPANISH ENTRY INTO THE COMMON MARKET WAS SPAIN'S
PRIMARY GOAL IN FOREIGN POLICY. THE STRONGEST BARRIERS
WOULD BE POLITICAL SINCE SPAIN'S PROGRESS IN THIS
DIRECTION WOULD BE LINKED TO INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN
SPAIN AND THE ATTITUDES OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE
EC. BUT AREILZA WAS OPTIMISTIC THERE ALSO.

8. THE GERMANS RESPONDED THAT THEY DID NOT
FEEL THAT THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR A FORMAL SPANISH
APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMON MARKET,
SAYING THAT SPAIN SHOULD FIRST CONTINUE ITS BILATERAL
EFFORTS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EC. AS PRELUDE TO
APPLYING TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC, THE GERMANS SUGGESTED
THAT THE SPANISH DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO RESUME
NEGOTIATIONS ON RENEWING THEIR TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE
EC. THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WERE BROKEN OFF IN
OCTOBER 1975 BECAUSE OF EXECUTIONS IN SPAIN, WERE
NECESSARY BECAUSE THE EC HAD TAKEN IN NEW MEMBERS.

9. THE NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED THAT SPAIN
SHOULD ALSO BECOME A MEMBER OF NATO, BUT THIS IS
SECONDARY TO JOINING THE EC. AREILZA HOPED THAT THE
AGREEMENT ON BASES WITH THE US COULD BE CONCLUDED BY THE
END OF JANUARY AND THAT THE AGREEMENT WOULD CONTAIN SOME
SORT OF REFERENCE TO NATO. HE ALSO HOPED THAT THE US
CONGRESS WOULD QUICKLY APPROVE THE NEW AGREEMENT.

10. IMPROVED SPANISH RELATIONS WITH THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE WERE ALSO HIGH ON THE LIST, ACCORDING TO A MEMBER OF AREILZA'S ENTOURAGE. BUT FIRST SPAIN WOULD HAVE TO RATIFY THE UN DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THE MEANTIME, SPAIN WOULD LIKE TO SEND AN OFFICIAL (PROBABLY MACIAS, WHO HAS DEVELOPED CONTACTS IN STRASBOURG), TO THE COUNCIL AS AN OBSERVER.

11. ON BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE SPANISH AND
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GERMANS AGREED THAT THE FRG-SPANISH MIXED COMMISSION, FORMED IN 1960 AND DORMANT SINCE 1973, SHOULD BE REVIVED WITH A MEETING IN MADRID. LEADING WEST GERMAN ECONOMISTS WILL MEET WITH MEMBERS OF THE CHAMBER OF GERMAN INDUSTRY TO CONSIDER WAYS OF INCREASING GERMAN INVESTMENT IN SPAIN, WHICH, RUHFUS SAID, WAS A DEVELOPING INDUSTRIAL POWER.

12. IN ADDITION TO TWO MEETINGS WITH GENSCHER, AREILZA HAD LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT SCHEEL, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR MATTHOEFFER, SPD LEADER (FOREIGN OFFICE MINISTER OF STATE) WISCHNEWSKI, DGB PRESIDENT VETTER, CDU CHAIRMAN KOHL, AND A NUMBER OF LEADING BUSINESSMEN, WITH WHOM HE DISCUSSED WEST GERMAN INVESTMENT IN SPAIN.

13. IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MINISTER MATTHOEFER, AREILZA ENCOURAGED THE SPD TO DEVELOP ITS CONTACTS WITH SPANISH DEMOCRATS BECAUSE, UNLIKE MITTERAND IN FRANCE, THE SPD MAKES A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND COMMUNISTS.

14. AREILZA SOUGHT THE ADVICE OF DGB PRESIDENT VETTER WHO SUGGESTED THAT THE CENTRAL SPANISH SYNDICALIST ORGANIZATION SHOULD NOT BE WEAKENED BECAUSE IT IS EASIER TO DEMOCRATIZE A STRONG NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WHILE PROTECTING IT FROM COMMUNIST INFILTRATION THAN TO DO THE SAME WITH A LOT OF DECENTRALIZED UNIONS.

15. AREILZA EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE ARMY DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION, SUGGESTING THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF THE SPANISH ARMY COULD BE GIVEN MORE CONTACT WITH THE MILITARY FORCES IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES. THE GERMANS PROMISED TO CONSIDER HIS SUGGESTION.

16. REGARDING FUTURE CONTACTS, RUHFUS SAID THAT A CDU DELEGATION LED BY WALTHER LEISLER-KIEP AND HANS KATZER WILL VISIT SPAIN. THE GERMANS ALSO PLAN TO INVITE THE

SPANISH MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE,
WHOM RUHFUS CHARACTERIZED AS THE MOST POWERFUL MEMBER OF
THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, TO VISIT THE FRG TO DISCUSS
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TERRORISM.

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5595

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

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17. IN ADDITION TO FRANCE AND LUXEMBOURG, AREILZA PLANS TO VISIT OTHER EC CAPITALS TO PROMOTE SPAIN'S CAMPAIGN FOR MEMBERSHIP.

18. RUHFUS SAID THAT HE HAD HEARD CONFIDENTIALLY THAT AREILZA MIGHT SEE THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN PARIS TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR.

19. AS RUHFUS NOTED, THE FRG PRESS HAS GIVEN EXTENSIVE AND FAVORABLE COVERAGE TO THE AREILZA VISIT. PRIOR TO AREILZA'S ARRIVAL, NEWSPAPER COMMENT STRESSED THAT GENSCHER HAD MET WITH AREILZA, WHO WAS THEN ONLY A MEMBER OF THE (TOLERATED) OPPOSITION, DURING GENSCHER'S APRIL, 1975 VISIT TO MADRID. MEDIA COMMENT ALSO EMPHASIZED THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO HOLD COMMUNAL ELECTIONS THIS YEAR AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR -- ALBEIT WITHOUT COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION. AREILZA IN TURN EMPHASIZED SPANISH ELECTORAL PLANS IN HIS PUBLIC UTTERANCES HERE, WHICH RESULTED IN STILL MORE FAVORABLE PUBLICITY FOR THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

20. COMMENT BY THE MEDIA DURING AND AFTER THE VISIT TENDED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE EC RELATIONSHIP PROBLEM AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S PROMISE TO "SMOOTH SPAIN'S WAY TO EUROPE." THE PROBLEM OF SPAIN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO WAS TREATED BUT DOWNPLAYED. ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WERE UNDERSCORED IN THE PRESS, MOST OF WHICH NOTED THAT THERE ARE 400,000 SPANISH "GASTARBEITER" IN THE FRG, THAT THE FRG IS SECOND ONLY TO THE US AS AN EXPORTER TO SPAIN, THIRD BEHIND THE US AND FRANCE AS AN IMPORTER OF SPANISH PRODUCTS, THAT GERMAN TOURISTS ARE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SPANISH BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS POSITION, AND THAT GERMAN INVESTMENT IN SPAIN IS LIKEWISE SIGNIFICANT.

21. THE FULL AND OVERWHELMINGLY POSITIVE MEDIA TREATMENT OF THE AREILZA VISIT WAS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE HEADLINES, SUCH AS: "BONN WANTS TO HELP MADRID" (FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU AND SUED DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG); "IN
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TWO YEARS A CHANGE TO A DEMOCRACY" (WEST DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU); "GENSCHER ASSURES AREILZA OF SUPPORT" (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG); "GENSCHER EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF SPAIN FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE" (STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG); "SPAIN'S FOREIGN MINISTER CALLS GENSCHER 'MY GOOD FRIEND'" (DIE WELT); AND, "MADRID SEEKS AN APPROACH TO EUROPE" (RHEIN NECKAR ZEITUNG). EVEN THE REPORTS ABOUT THE MADRID SUBWAY STRIKE, WHICH OFTEN WERE PART OF THE ARTICLES WRITTEN UNDER THESE HEADLINES, WERE SEMI-POSITIVE AS THEY OBSERVED THAT THE RESTRAINED REACTION OF THE CURRENT SPANISH GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN MOST UNLIKELY FROM THE FRANCO REGIME.
HILLENBRAND

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